From “ primitives ” to “ refugees ”: French Guianese categorizations of Maroons in the aftermath of Surinamese civil war

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the turning point in Maroon categorization by the State that happened in the 1980's. Previously considered as "primitive" or "indigenous", Maroons progressively became categorized by the French government as foreign migrants, and later as illegitimate refugees, following the outbreak of Surinamese civil war. In 1986, 10,000 people of whom most were Maroons, fled from the civil war and spilled over the border from Suriname. Instead of granting them legal refugee status, the French deemed them "Temporary Displaced Persons from Suriname" (*Personnes Provisoirement Déplacées du Surinam*), thus depriving them of the legal protection granted to refugees. They settled in camps far from the city center and were only informally referred to as "refugees". I will analyze the processes that led to the categorization of Maroons in the first urban removal policies that occurred in the 1980's, and in state refugee policies. My objective is to investigate the diverse identification processes at work in these policies, the production of official categories that make Maroons "legible" to public authorities. For this purpose, I will rely on archival research in the local Department of Public Works (*Direction Départementale de l'Equipement*) and of the local Sub-Commissioner's Office (*Sous-préfecture*).

1. Introduction

So-called "overseas territories" that have not experienced decolonization and still belong to France, like French Guiana, allow for the development of unique points of view concerning post-colonial situations, and regarding the social construction of populations in that context. French law operates in this *département* located on the South American continent. The town of Saint-Laurent du Maroni lies on the border with Suriname. The trans-border population living on both sides of the Maroni basin is composed of Amerindians, Caribbean migrants and Maroons, who escaped from Surinamese plantations in the eighteenth century to live upriver. By now, Maroons make up a large part of the 45,000 inhabitants of Saint-Laurent du Maroni. However, they are excluded from many aspects of economic and political life, which remains dominated to this day by Creoles – descendants of slaves who were freed during the abolition – and by metropolitan French representatives of local government agencies. Maroons began immigrating to the city in the 1940's, when the first gold mining period ended and Maroons were working as boat transporters on the Marowijne River. Considered as "primitive" by the State and by local political actors, poor Maroon migrants first built precarious stilt dwellings on the narrow riverbank behind the former prison of Saint-Laurent du Maroni, near the city center. From the 1980's on, they were relegated to the outskirts of the city through shantytown removal policies, and through the creation of refugee camps in peripheral areas, due to the Surinamese civil war, which broke out in 1986[1].

In this paper, I will focus on the turning point in Maroon categorization by the State that happened in the 1980's. Previously considered as "primitive" or "indigenous", Maroons progressively became categorized by the French government as foreign migrants, and later as illegitimate refugees, following the outbreak of Surinamese

[1] Surinamese civil war started in 1986 on July 21st, when a armed group, later known as Jungle Commando, attacked the army post of Stolkersijver, on the Commewijne river. That group was lead by Ronny Brunswijk, a former guard of Desi Bouterse. He was a Ndjuka from the Cottica region, and the majority of Jungle Commando soldiers were Maroons from diverse regions. At that time, Maroons formed 10% of Surinamese population but were excluded from many aspects of political and economical life. The repression of the guerilla by the army was violent, including civilian massacres at the autumn 1986, as in Moiwana on Novembre 29th, 1986. The civil war only came into an end in 1992, after many failed attempts at peace negociations, as the one of Kourou in 21st July, 1989.

civil war. In 1986, 10,000 people of whom most were Maroons, fled from the civil war and spilled over the border from Surinam[2]. Instead of granting them legal refugee status, the French deemed them "Temporary Displaced Persons from Suriname" (*Personnes Provisoirement Déplacées du Surinam*), thus depriving them of the legal protection granted to refugees. They settled in camps far from the city center and were only informally referred to as "refugees". At this point, the population of Saint-Laurent du Maroni had doubled, and Maroons now made up a majority of its inhabitants. Today, Saint-Laurent du Maroni is on its way to becoming the most populated city in French Guiana, especially due to its Maroon population's high fertility rate. The current issues of urban development cannot be understood without reference to the way the city's population evolved over the past decades, and the implications this had in terms of the way Maroon people were perceived by the administration.

I will analyze the processes that led to the categorization of Maroons in the first urban removal policies that occurred in the 1980's, and in state refugee policies. How did housing policies aiming to remove Maroon riverbank "shantytowns" connect to state refugee policies created during the Surinamese civil war? How did these policies use ethnic, racial and national categories, inspired by ethnologic studies and immigration control methods? How were they also influenced by the discourse that Maroon leaders used to identify themselves? How did these changing social classifications affect and manifest themselves in the urban landscape? My objective is to closely investigate the diverse identification processes at work in these policies, the production of official categories that make Maroons "legible" to public authorities.

2. Methodology

For this purpose, I will rely on archival research in the local Department of Public Works (*Direction Départementale de l'Equipement*) and of the local Sub-Commissioner's Office (*Sous-préfecture*). The way these archives are classified, when they are, is very telling: in the archive of the local Department of Public Works, the files for La Charbonnière and for the refugees were archived in same boxes by the agents in charge of classifying them in recent years. Though they were two distinct operations in the 1980's, they eventually appeared as two ways of handling the Maroon

[2] According to the archives of State Department of Public Work Archive (DDE), refugee camps.

population in the Western territory of French Guiana. This classification, made in the 2000 by an employee of the office, reveals the retrospective confusion between refugees and Maroons settlers of the river banks, which is due to the change in Maroons categorization from "primitives" to "refugees" that I will now explore.

In the current political discourse, Maroons are referred to as "Bushinenge" ("men of the forest" in *nenge tongo*). This new term succeeds many others, like "Bosh" or "Boni", formerly used to refer to Maroons by Non-Maroons in Saint-Laurent du Maroni. Internally, they define themselves along the lines of six group identifications (*nasi*), the Saamaka, Matawai and Kwinti, who live upstream on the Suriname River, and the Ndjuka, Aluku and Paamaka, who live upstream on the Maroni River. This geographical partition matches a language difference between the *bushinenge tongo* speakers from the Maroni region and the Saamaka-speakers from inland Suriname. Another historical division separates the Aluku from the Ndjuka regarding their nationality. Whereas the former have been recognized as French subjects since 1860, the latter were initially considered Dutch, and then Surinamese – even if many of them have recently become French citizens. In addition, some Ndjuka have emigrated since the end of the nineteenth century to the Surinamese coastal region of Cottica and are called "Cottica Ndjuka" – during the civil war, they formed the majority of the population in the refugee camps.

Maroon societies are a typical subject for anthropological study (Herskovits and Herskovits 1934, Bastide 1972). Nevertheless, they have mostly been studied in rural areas and not in an urban context (Thoden van Velzen and Wetering, 1988, Price R., 1983; Price S., 1987, Hurault, 1965, Vernon, 1992, Hoogbergen, 1990, Moomou, 2009). Since the 1990s, Richard and Sally Price have worked on Saamaka migration to French Guiana (Price, 2007). Parris (2011) addresses the transformation of Ndjuka customary politics in the context of massive emigration to Saint-Laurent du Maroni.

3. Housing the primitive: the first project of La Charbonnière

In 1950, the French administration allowed Tutu, an Aluku chief *(capitaine)*, to settle on a small headland called the Blue Stone (*La Roche Bleue*), located between the walls of the former prison and the river in Saint-Laurent du Maroni. Tutu built his house close to a dwelling on stilts, which had been made by Ndjuka workers. From that time on, Maroon migrants coming to Saint-Laurent du Maroni to find jobs in

the wood industry or as boat transporters for local administrative services began to build their homes there. By the 1970's, Maroon migration had become more intense and more long-term. A whole range of stilt dwellings were built covering the riverbanks of Saint-Laurent du Maroni, from the Blue Stone headland to a swamp called La Charbonnière, located south of the city. More than 1,200 Maroons lived in these neighborhoods, half turned toward the city, half turned toward the river and the Surinamese twin-city of Albina. The anthropologist Kenneth Bilby (1990) studied the Maroon pile dwellings on the riverbanks of Saint-Laurent du Maroni in one chapter of his dissertation, where he showed how a pan-Maroon sense of belonging emerged in those neighborhoods. He argued that they were like a second city, separate from the rest of the town.

Maroon dwellings on the river banks of Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni. Photo by Jean-Pierre Wieczorek, 1985.

The first housing projects for Maroons were elaborated by French government services in the 1970's[3]. They were concerned with the Maroons' well-being, and began to refer to them as "Boni", instead of calling them "Bosh", a pejorative denomination that was commonly used back then. In 1974, the local Department of Agriculture (*Direction Départementale de l'Agriculture*), which has been traditionally in charge of "primitive" populations, came up with a displacement project in collaboration with the local

[3] This information comes from the State Department of Public Work Archive (DDE), Refugee Camps.

Department of Public Works (*Direction départementale de l'Equipement*). Despite the fact that a report of an Engineer of that Department emphasized the value of Maroon culture, and outlined their "cleanliness", the need to displace this community was linked to their dwellings being represented as shantytowns that needed to disappear from the city center. It was also connected with a national "resorption of insalubrity" policy launched by the 1970 Vivien law, which aimed to finance the eradication of all large migrant shantytowns in metropolitan France, on the grounds that it was a matter of public health as well as bettering city center esthetics. Moreover, this displacement project was related to the local government agents' desire to control a floating Maroon population, which, at that time, was not taken into account by the census. The first census of Maroon inhabitants of Saint-Laurent du Maroni was established by the town hall services in 1972, and followed by many other attempts to count the Maroon population and classify it according to ethnic terminology: Boni, "Bosh" (referring to Ndjuka), Paamaka, and Saamaka.

The displacement eventually took place when the Creole town hall agents, who were first reluctant to invest in a housing project that favored the people they despised, agreed to join in. The new mayor Léon Bertrand, who was elected in 1983, was willing to implement the project, which the French government had already agreed to finance with insalubrity funds, as soon as possible. In Bertrand's view, the removal of Maroon pile dwellings from the riverbanks would allow to make the city center more attractive for tourists. He planned to make a tourist residence out of the former prison, which the State wanted to classify as a National Heritage monument, and connect to the riverbanks that would be "free" from Maroon occupation. In addition, the matter of border control and security became increasingly important for the mayor, as well as for the French government's administrative agents. Maroon pile dwellings were directly connected to Suriname by boat, and sheltered many human and good exchanges with Guiana's neighboring country, often evading customs. In 1984, a new housing site was built in La Charbonnière, south of the city, in order to eradicate the suspicious stilt dwellings. The government's local Department of Public Works conceived a culturally "adapted" shape for these new houses, inspired by the Maroon sharp-pointed wood houses found upriver. Though the houses they proposed were triangular, they were much bigger than those upriver, as they were designed to shelter all types of activities, including washing or cooking, which in Maroon upriver

village is done outside. The Maroons, who would have preferred conventional western-style houses, did not appreciate this strange combination, and voiced their complaints by way of the men recognized as customary chiefs (*capitaines*), who serve as spokesmen between the community and the State. However, neither the project agents from the town hall nor those from the local Sub-Commissioner's Office took these complaints into account.

The project needed to reformulate its definition of the very population it targeted. The individuals eligible for subsidized housing needed to be either French citizens, or to possess legal authorization to live in France as foreigners. The old interpretations of Maroon society distinguished the Aluku (called Boni), who had supposedly been French subjects since the international agreement of Albina in 1860, from the other Maroons, who were supposed to be Surinamese. Accordingly, the Aluku men recognized as *capitaines* by the French government, such as *capitaine* Doye, were the project's main go-to people. These ethnic categories progressively proved not to coincide with national ones, as many Ndjuka had acquired French nationality or French legal authorizations by then, as a result of policies implemented by the French government in the mid-1960's to promote the "Frenchification" (*francisation*) of primitive populations. Therefore, this first housing project required the State to reconsider the tribal categorization of Maroons that had been commonly used until then. As a result, the French government had to come up with a more general categorization for migrants, which it now divided into nationals and foreigners on the one hand, as opposed to legal and illegal foreigners living on French soil, on the other. In Saint-Laurent du Maroni, the number of illegal foreigners was so high that another distinction had to be made in order to differentiate between illegal foreigners that could be legalized because they had lived there for a long time, and the others who had to be expelled from the territory.

4. Refugees as an urban phenomenon

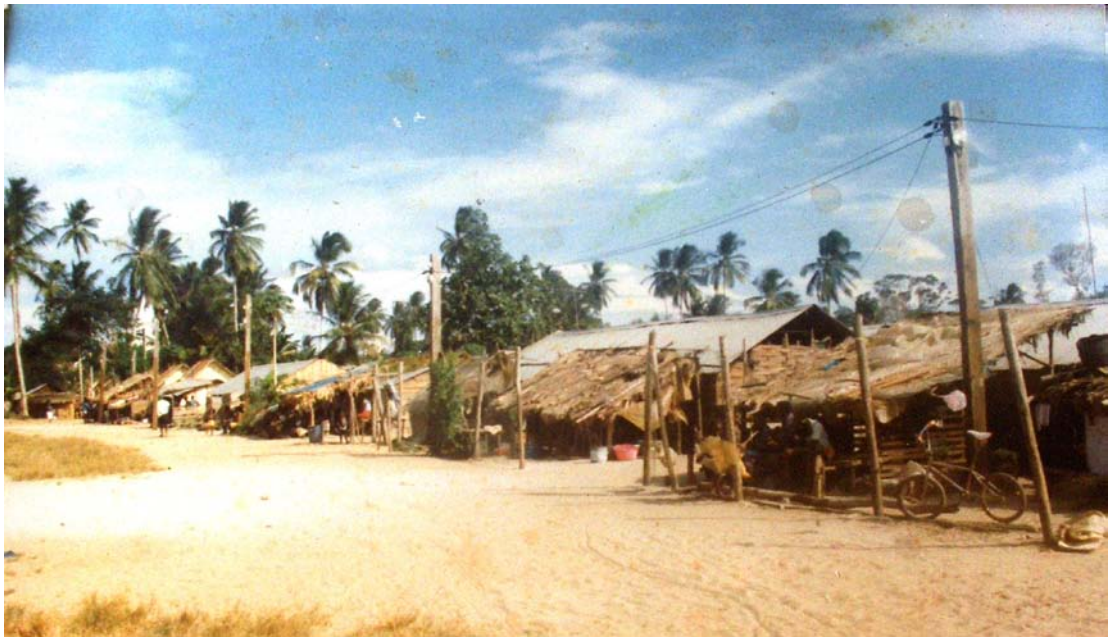
Given the fluctuating categories used for Maroon identification, the outburst of the Surinamese civil war and the sudden arrival of 10,000 refugees reinforced the ongoing evolution. The small town of Saint-Laurent, which counted no more than 10,000 inhabitants at that time, had to manage to give the newcomers shelter. Since the independence of Suriname in 1975, refugee plans had been drawn up by the French government in anticipation of a flow of independence opponents, such as Hindustanis,

Javanese and Amerindian people[4]. However, this flow of refugees never arrived, as the people who wanted to leave Suriname preferred to settle in Holland or the United States. At that time, the "primitive" Maroon population was not seen as being involved in those political processes, and their frequent crossing of the border for economic reasons was not considered as a problem by the French government[5].

In July 1986 however, Maroons who were originally based in the Cottica region around Moengo launched a rebellion against Bouterse's regime. The Surinamese National Army retaliated with a violent offensive in November of that same year, arresting and killing many civilians they thought were helping the guerilla along the Paramaribo-Albina road. After the killing of 39 civilians in Moiwana, near Albina, almost all the inhabitants of East Suriname left their homes, fleeing either to Paramaribo, or to French Guiana. This refugee population was very different from the one that France was expecting 11 years before. Most of them were Maroons or Amerindians coming from East Suriname.

Rebel groups helped the refugees across the border using forest roads and small rivers. Those who had relatives in French Guiana went to live with them, as was the case for Amerindian and Maroon migrants from upriver. The others, mostly the Cottica Ndjuka Maroons who had been living on the coast since the nineteenth century, were put in refugee camps. The first camps, Camp A and Camp B, were built on Saint-Laurent du Maroni's airfield. At the beginning of 1987, three other camps were opened farther away from the city, beside the Mana road: Acarouany, Charvein, and PK9.

[4] According to the archive of the local State Administration Office (*Sous-préfecture*) in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, "Plan Maroni": Situation du Surinam, note au sous-préfet from September 18th, 1975, Grand Santi.
[5]. *Ibid*.



Refugee camp of Charvein, Mana. Source: Archive of comes from the State Department of Public Work Archive (DDE), file "Camps de réfugiés".

The mayor of Mana was very much in favor of having refugees settle in his town, because he wanted to develop agriculture and to increase the population of his by then declining town. To the contrary, the mayor of Saint-Laurent du Maroni and his team were immediately against providing shelter for refugees they saw as illegitimate and invading foreigners. They associated the arrival of Maroon refugees with the rise in burglaries and violence in the town, despite the fact that police said the perpetrators of these acts were mostly "non-refugee Surinamese". A growing feeling of insecurity among the town's Creole population was expressed through demonstrations against insecurity and against the refugees. The term refugee became increasingly synonymous with "Maroon", even though around 1,000 Amerindian refugees also lived there, and even though Maroon migrants had arrived there long before the war[6].

Given the local hostility toward them, the French government did not want to grant these people official "refugee" status, which would have allowed them to work, send their children to school, and settle in French Guiana. Instead, it treated them as if they would soon return to Suriname, and referred to them as "Provisionally Displaced

[6] According to archive of the local State Administration Office (*Sous-préfecture*) in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, file "Camps de réfugiés".

People from Suriname", which was shortened to the acronym "PPDS" in French. For this reason, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees was not authorized to come to French Guiana until 1988, and even then, it was only put in charge of organizing the return of displaced people. The refugee camps were originally supposed to be temporary ones.

As the conflict continued longer than had been foreseen, life in the camps lost its emergency quality and became more long-term. The refugees convinced the French soldiers to let them build their own wood and palm houses, in order to offer separate lodging for families that had been put together by threes or fours in one tent. They began to farm around the camps, and to find jobs in the surrounding agriculture, construction or wood industries. Franciscan Sisters from Albina who had also fled the war schooled their children in Dutch and Sranan Tongo. In each camp, one man was designated as the "village chief" (*chef de village*), to mediate between the soldiers that supervised the camp and its dwellers. Together with these "chiefs", these soldiers managed food distribution, and issued authorizations for people to leave or enter the camp – the latter were especially issued to the Dutch humanitarian organizations that helped coordinate schooling, sports activities and festivities inside the camp[7]. A new way of life began for the dwellers of the camps, who began calling themselves "*loweman*", which means "refugees" in the Ndjuka language, but also refers to the time when their ancestors escaped from the Surinamese plantations.

Many other refugees were accommodated outside the camps, where they found residents willing to give them a piece of land or lodging. Thus on March 23rd, 1987, of the 7,723 refugees that were counted, 3,338 lived in one of Saint-Laurent du Maroni's four camps, and 4,385 lived in areas surrounding the town[8]. For those refugees outside the camps, food and first aid supplies were also provided by French authorities and Dutch humanitarian organizations, such as the *Zeister Zendingsgenootschap,* an organization connected to the Moravian Church. Every week, food was distributed in the Amerindian village as well as in many Maroon neighborhoods, and in La Charbonnière, the newly constructed housing project, where a big collective house was used for food distribution and refugee children schooling. In the eyes of the French government agents, the

[7] This information comes from the State Department of Public Work Archive (DDE), file "Camps de réfugiés".
[8] *Ibid*.

challenge was to determine how many refugees there were. During that time, they continuously counted the "PPDS", tried to exclude all the rebellion fighters from the camps, and also tried to distinguish refugees from migrants. This was no easy task, as among the 9,500 refugees they counted when the figures reached their highest point, many were not individually identified, and were simply called "clandestine", as this census from January 1990 shows.

Refugees in January 1990[9]

	Place	Number	Total	
Camps	Camp A	295	3 913	
	PK9	1140		
	Acarouani	1480		
	Charvein	995		
Outside Camps, Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni	Charbonnière	724	2 046	2 736
	Autres villages	500		
	Paddock	290		
	Balaté	133		
	Pierre	151		
	Terre-Rouge	115		
	Espérance	133		
Oustide Camps, other towns	Apatou	500	690	
	Mana	136		
	Awala	54		
Réfugiés recensés	6 649			
Clandestins estimés	3 000			
Total estimé	9 500			

Thus, the boundaries between refugees and clandestine foreigners appeared to be porous in the eyes of the French government. This has to be understood in the general context of the administrative perception of Maroons as a population category that had been defined according to ethnic terms.

5. Emergency housing policies for Maroons

On November 5th,1986, at the very beginning of the crisis, the Town Council (*Conseil Municipal*) had voted a motion to warn French state services. It described the arrival of a scattered "Black population" from Suriname as a danger for the security of the town's residents, and as a threat to the town's policy against shantytowns, since the newcomers would be building new dwellings. The Council

[9] State Administration Office Archive, Refugee Camps.

requested that the French government react to the arrival of this population that wanted to settle there. It wanted the State to finance the necessary healthcare, security and housing operations that needed to be planned, so that "the town would not suffer irretrievably from an already distressing situation caused by a hard-to-control migration flow"[10]. Within the six years that followed, the State did spend millions on the refugees thanks to the so-called "Plan Maroni", financing the camps and food supplies, but also participating in the renewal of the hospital, and the construction of a road along the river south of La Charbonnière, allowing for more efficient border control. However, the demographic – and financial – consequences for the town (*commune)* and its surrounding area were irreversible.

On August 8th, 1992, a peace treaty between the government and the Jungle Commando was signed. The return of the refugees was implemented with the help of the High Commission for Refugees. All identified adult refugees were offered 4,000 Francs, and 2,000 per child, to return to their country. Many of them did return, but the economic crisis that hit Suriname often made them decide to come back to French Guiana, this time as undocumented migrants. Others managed to stay in French Guiana, legally or illegally. As a consequence of the Surinamese civil war, the official population of Saint-Laurent doubled in the period between 1982 and 1990, growing from 6,971 to 13,616 inhabitants[11]. This spectacular growth had implications in terms of urban planning. The operation to displace La Charbonnière, which had been launched before the war's outbreak, had to be accelerated. The idea of "auto-construction", which had been tested at first in order to make use of the Maroons' know-how, had to be abandoned because of the builders' slow progress. Beginning in 1987, the houses were made by external firms, and their triangular shape was cast aside in favor of a more conventional one. In addition, the State had to deal with the increase in illegal extensions that residents made either to cook outside, or to accommodate more people inside. One inhabitants' association, *SOS Noirs marrons,* demanded the improvement of the roads, electricity and water supply, and the creation of a postal service within the neighborhoods that were deficient in what was initially supposed to become a "Maroon village". La Charbonnière was

[10]. State Administration Office Archive, Motion of the Town Council of November 5th, 1986

[11] According to the National Statistics Office, Insee.

progressively equipped to become an urban neighborhood of the city.

Meanwhile, the Maroon stilt dwellings on the riverbank had become overpopulated, since the authorities had stopped demolishing them at the beginning of the war. After the end of the crisis, tearing them down became a priority for the State as well as for the town. In February 1992, the demolition of 27 houses was launched in the stilt dwelling area called Bakaloto, located close to La Charbonnière. Bakaloto's inhabitants were treated according to their administrative status: 31 people were French citizens or documented migrants who were given provisional housing in the town, 58 people were undocumented migrants who were expelled from French Guiana and brought back to Suriname, and 38 had the "PPDS" status and were invited to go back to Suriname[12]. If they did not accept, this last group was required to relocate to Maroon villages on the Marowijne River, far south of Saint-Laurent du Maroni. In the end, these three different groups represented one same problem in the eyes of the State. They were living in unsanitary conditions in the town, and were therefore associated with illegal border crossing activities and delinquency. As Maroons, they were identified as a suspicious trans-border ethnic group that needed to be closely controlled.

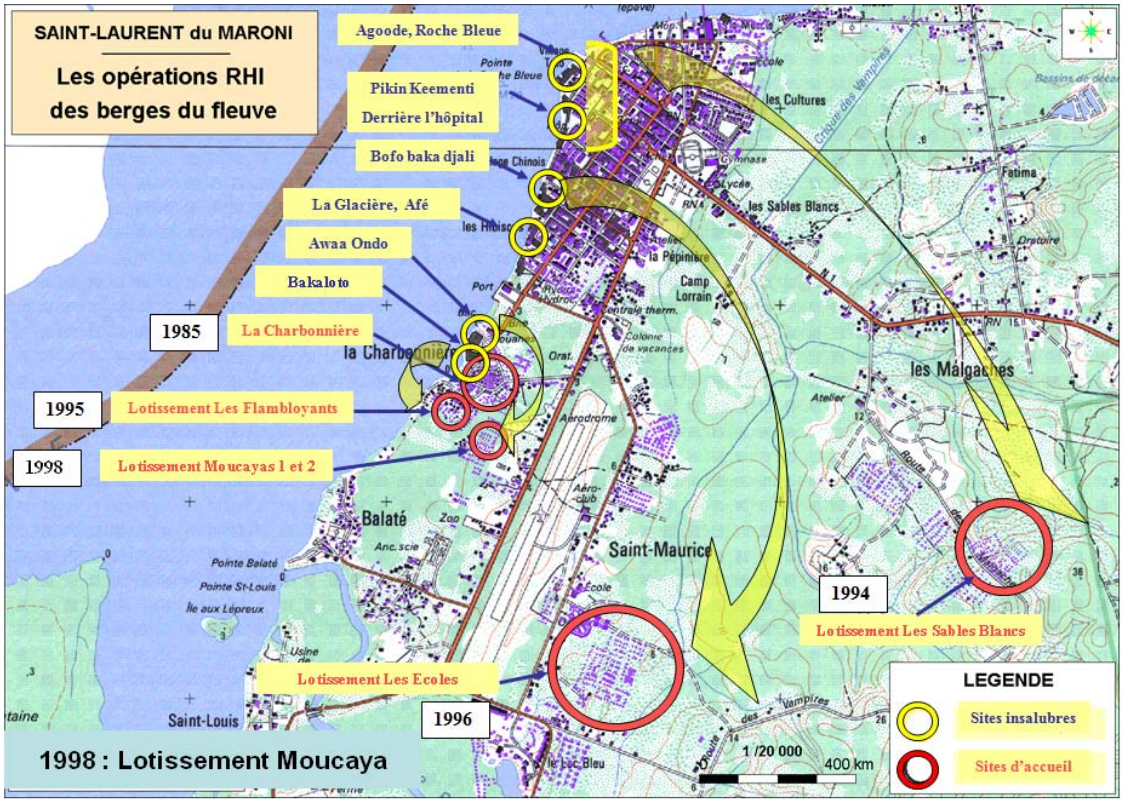
Throughout the 1990's, all the riverside pile dwellings were demolished as the result of a new, extensive "resorption of insalubrity" operation, financed by the State. This displacement project was part of the authorities' struggle against insecurity, as Saint-Laurent du Maroni's sub-commissioner (*sous-préfet*) wrote in June 1992:

> "This operation is launched in all urgency on the grounds that there are risks of breaches in peace and racial riots related to the exasperation of the population because of insecurity. Neighborhoods conducive to the development of delinquency are progressively to be demolished or restructured." [13]

An urbanist's study proposed to set up three new housing sites for the people who had been living in pile dwellings. One of these sites was planned near La Charbonnière, close to the Marowijne River, and would be destined to the people working in boat transport or fishing. The two others were situated far from the river. The first one, called Sables Blancs (White Sand), was meant for agricultural workers,

[12] State Administration Office Archive, file "RHI Multisites".
[13] State Administration Office Archive, RHI Multisites, Letter of the Subcommissioner to the State representative of June 9th 1992.

and the second one, called Les Ecoles (The Schools), would be more urban. Due to the urgency in the project's implementation, those initial guidelines were not followed, and the houses were not attributed as planned, which is to say according to the head of the household's activity. The architecture of these new neighborhoods did not seek to be "adapted" to the culture of the inhabitants as the architecture in La Charbonnière had been. The stilt dwellings were finally all destroyed in 1998.



Map of the successive displacements between 1985 and 1998[14].

The refugee camps on the road to Mana had been dismantled in 1992 and 1993. The "PPDS" had until September 30th, 1992 to claim their money and return to Suriname. 1,700 refugees were still there by the time the deadline arrived. Many of them did not want to accept the money and preferred to stay, because they had lost everything in the war, and because the living conditions in French Guiana were more attractive. For years, several

[14] Agence d'Urbanisme et de Développement de la Guyane (ARUAG). « Urban renovation in French Guiana » seminar, December 2003, Center for Urban Policy Ressources (*Centre de Ressources des Politiques de la Ville*).

associations like *SOS Noirs Marrons* defended the refugees' right to stay in French Guiana, but the French government persisted in wanting to make them go back. At the end of 1992, the refugees were violently forced to leave. Pesticides were thrown on their fields, government agents sawed boats in half on the Acarouany River, artisans' shops were burned, and people were arrested and deported to Suriname. Only 590 people were granted legal authorization to stay, and to settle along the road to Mana[15]. However, over the years, many more people joined them, as former refugees or newcomers decided to settle there. Eventually, an entire Maroon neighborhood appeared in Charvein, where the former camps once stood, spurring Mana's demographic growth.

6. Conclusion

A change in the way Maroons were categorized appeared at the time of the Surinamese civil war. From harmless primitives, they were changed into undesirable aliens who had to acquire documents to be able to stay in French Guiana legally. The refugee category was extended beyond the "PPDS" until it became synonymous with Maroons in general. Nowadays, this change of categorization keeps having consequences, although the status of the Maroons in Saint-Laurent has evolved. The auto-denomination of "Bushinenge" is now commonly used by French Guianese authorities: this new category emerged in the 1990's after the proposal of French-speaking Maroon leaders. Many Maroon inhabitants are now eligible to vote, and have access to high economic positions. Still, the illegalizing of inhabitants, categorized, among others, as Bushinenge, keeps being at stake during the housing operations that include removals and demolitions.

[15] State Administration Office Archive, Refugee camps.

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